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T H E

NAKED TRUTH. *k*

—*Ridentem discere Verum*
Quis Vetat—



L O N D O N :

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It is not in our thought
that you will not be
satisfied with the
following list of
the many

TO THE
P E O P L E
O F

Great Britain, Ireland, and America.

THOU' not one in one Thousand
of you will read, or even hear
of this Dedication, yet you have the
most Right to the following Pages.
The Matter they treat of may affect
you and your Children for many Ge-
nerations.

A 2

They

They are writ to give you what Light my Experience furnishes, before you form your Judgment on a Matter entirely in your own Powers ; that is, to chuse whether you will be silent, or will cry aloud.

This is a Thing entirely dependent on yourselves, every free-born *English* Man, and Woman too, has a Right to cry and hollow as loud as they please.

The Voice of the People is the Voice of God, was the Doctrine of the *Whigs* in King *Charles* the Second's Reign, and I have not heard it denied yet publickly. Certainly every reasonable Man must allow, that Governments were formed and submitted to for the Good of the People ; *Salus Populi suprema Lex esto.*

The People have, in different Countries, parted with more or less of their natural Freedom, to obtain the Benefits

sits that arise from the Protection and Convenience that the Conjunction of Numbers give ; Numbers cannot live together without Order, which must be maintained by Individuals submitting their Differences to the Judgment of others.

Wars cannot be carried on without submitting to the Orders of the Commander ; nor Money raised for paying Armies and Fleets, without submitting to Taxes. All these Submissions are so far departing from natural Liberty. Those Nations who have parted with fewest of their natural Rights, or, in other Terms, have preserved most Privileges, are the happiest ; nay, they are the most powerful, in Proportion to the Extent of their Dominions ; as the People of *Europe*, and of them the Republicks and limited Monarchies, are much more powerful, in Proportion

tion to their Extent of Land, than the absolute Governments of *Asia*.

How weak are the *Turks*, *Persians* and *Moguls*, who rule over such immense Regions, where the People have no kind of Privileges. The *Venetian* Republick hath resisted the whole Strength of the *Turkish* Empire, and maintained itself against them for many Ages. The *Switzers* are the freest People in *Europe*, and their Country, though small and barren, has, without mercenary Armies, maintained their independent Sovereignty against the great and aspiring Houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, and are respected by all *Europe*.

Holland grew populous by Liberty, and if their Extent of Country was to be compared with *France* or *Spain*, their Wealth and Power surpasses all Comparison. Indeed they have of late declined ;

declined ; but that hath been proportionably to the Privileges of the People's being lessened by the Encroachments of the Oligarchy, or Rulers, who would have ruined them, and sold them to *France*, had they not been rescued by the Spirit of the People, who, rising, chose a Stadtholder.

Freedom of the People is therefore the Preservation of the Power and Wealth of States. Amongst other Privileges the Freedom of Writing and Speaking is of the highest Consequence, as the using that Liberty may support or destroy a Nation.

The Voice of the People always was regarded with high Reverence by wise Princes, especially by those of this Nation. It is of serious Consequence, that the People of this Realm should be well instructed. I join with Mr. TRENCHARD, where he says, " The
" People

“ People are never mistaken, but when
 “ they are deceived or bribed.” Now,
 to prevent *you, the People*, from being
 deceived, and thereby misled into a
 general Clamour, is the End of these
 Papers. All I wish is, that you would
 hear, read, and be well informed, be-
 fore you enter into a general Cry; and
 that you will believe me to be, with
 the highest Veneration, and sincerest
 Affection,

Your devoted, humble Servant.

Oglethorpe

NAKED TRUTH.

—*Ridentem discere Verum*
Quis Vetat—

NAKED TRUTH is always disagreeable to weak Minds. As they compose the Bulk of Mankind, she is most hateful to the Multitude. To tell Truth to the People, is almost as dangerous as to tell it to a Tyrant.

Phocian and *Socrates* were poisoned by the People of *Athens* for telling them *Naked Truth*. Nay, the virtuous *Lacedemonians*, who hated Disguise, and loved Truth, Simplicity, and Nakedness, so that their Laws obliged the Virgins to dance almost naked: Yet even these *Spartans* stoned *Lycurgus*, and beat out one of his Eyes, for telling them *Naked Truth*. If this was the Consequence in better Ages, you, Reader, must think me mad, who, in the Dregs of Time, venture to publish *Naked Truth* to *Britain*.

To love one's Country, and to be virtuous in a bad Age, hath often been called Madness. *Nat. Lee*, the Poet, say'd, "To differ from the People was the Definition of Madness; and therefore that himself and the few Wits were locked up in *Bethlehem*, by the infinitely more numerous Blockheads at large."

Democritus the Philosopher was the first who discovered to the *Greeks*, that the Earth was a Globe, by the Shadow it cast in an Eclipse on the Moon. The Magistrates of his City sent, in pure Love and Sincerity of Heart, to *Hippocrates* the Physician, to come and cure the Philosopher *Democritus* of Madness. When he came, they told to *Hippocrates* the fatal Symptoms, that he said the World was round, and that our Feet pointed at the Feet of other Men on the other Side of the Earth; therefore either they or we must stand on our Heads. But they urged, to prove him still more lunatick, that he despised Money, and refused publick Employments. *Hippocrates* shook his Head, got out of Town in a Hurry, and sent a Horse-load of Hellebore to the Citizens, but none to *Democritus*.

Solon and *Brutus*, I mean the first, was called mad, and desired to be thought so. The hireling Wits that flattered Tyrants gave the same or worse Appellations to the second, *Brutus*. But *Cowley* says,

*The Heroick Exaltations of the Good
 Are so far from understood,
 We count them Vice. Alas ! our Sight's so ill,
 That Things which swiftest move seem to stand still.
 We look not upon Virtue in her Height,
 On her supreme Idea, brave and bright,
 In the original Light ;
 But as her Beams reflected pass
 Thro' our own Nature, or ill Custom's Glass :
 And 'tis no Wonder so,
 If with dejected Eye
 We seek the Sky,
 That Stars so high above should seem to us below.*

Let the World think what they please, if
 the Printer will venture Printing, I'll furnish
 Copy, and will tell my Country *Naked Truth*,
 tho' it may be against the present enthusiastick
 Ardor, that bears down all before it.

I know it is as dangerous to write against
 popular Prejudices as against Tyrants ; and yet
 it is cruel to flatter the People, nay it is worse,
 it is being in some Measure *Felo de se* : For
 if we let the frantick Zeal, and false Magna-
 nimity of the People go on, and do not un-
 deceive them, we must bare our Share in the
 publick Taxes, and perhaps universal Ruin
 that it may draw on.

Perhaps it may be less harsh, and there-
 fore have more Effect, to speak of the past,
 than at once to rush on, in stripping naked
 the present Folly. Oil makes a Razor cut,
 and Example may, like Oil, smoothe whilst

it sets the Edge. Example is the Tutor of the Wise, as Experience is to Fools: We have both Example and woful Experience in our own Days, of giving Way to popular Clamour and national Prejudice. Let us call back a few Years, and see with what Ardor the Merchants cried out for a *Spanish* War; a few Ships were plundered; a Captain lost his Ears, publick Clamour was raised, no Satisfaction would go down; even Men of Sense supported the Clamour, because it supported the Party: They were not ashamed to hear, nay to repeat, *We can crush Spain, let loose your Navy; let loose your People to just Revenge; you will humble Spain in a Year; you will take all her Ships, nay her America.* Even wise Men were not ashamed to say, they could starve the vast Continent of *Spain*, by prohibiting our People from furnishing Provisions, and trading with them. Nothing was so ridiculous that did not go down; we lowered the Price of our Corn for want of that Market, and it hath never rise, because the *Spaniards* gave Encouragement to their own Tillage, and fell into a Trade, by which the *Hamburghers* and *Dutch* supplied them from *Poland* and *Barbary* with Wheat, *France* with Fish from *Newfoundland*, and the Valleys of their own Mountains with double the Number of Cattle they used to do. This last was occasioned by the Encouragements which your Prohibition of selling *Irish* Beef to them forced them to give. The Laziness and Oppression

pression of the Government had discouraged Agriculture ; but you awaked them ; they encouraged it ; and you, by prohibiting a Trade to give them a present Distress, gave it a new Turn, and have lost a great deal for ever.

Our sanguine Hopes of Conquest were as much baulked as our starving them into Submission ; we sent a noble Fleet, covered the Seas with our Ships, and the Islands with our Soldiers, but what Return ! We buried twenty thousand Men without a Battle, without the Sword of a Foe ; there was hardly a Man killed, except a few Hundreds at *St. Lazarus*. Did we take one Province, or one Town, except *Porto-Bello* ? Did we keep even that or any one spot ? This cannot be laid to the Charge of the Officers or Men ; the Admiral was as brave a Man, and as good an Officer, as *England* ever bred ; he was distinguished in *Queen Anne's Wars*, an Age of Heroes. To the Merit of a brave and experienced Officer, he added the uncorruptable Integrity of *Cato*, and the Plainness and Roughness of his Manners were, perhaps, Virtues too high for an Age of Fribbles. The Officers of the Land Forces were as valuable as the Age has produced, and Lord *Cathcart* had distinguished himself also in *Queen Anne's Wars* ; General *Wentworth* was a Man of excellent Sense, Temper and Courage, and shewed it afterwards on several Occasions ; the Sailors and Soldiers were good ; Whence then came the
Dis-

Disappointment? From the War's being improper, and drove on by popular Prejudices. By believing those popular Clamours, or not daring to oppose them, the Government was forced to carry on the War in Sun-burnt Climates, where the Enemy could withdraw himself into inaccessible Places, and leave you to lose your Troops and Fleets, by opposing to you the Sun and Air only.

Some Prizes you took at Sea of great Value, but did not the Expence out of the Publick Stock load the Poor with Taxes? And did there come as much back to the Captains and Captors as the Publick spent? If there did, this was but giving the People's Money to Officers and Sailors; but it was worse, a Squadron cost one Million perhaps fitting out; and perhaps the Prizes taken might be two hundred thousand Pounds; the Taxed lost a Million, the Captors got two hundred thousand Pounds, the Publick loses eight hundred thousand Pounds.

We sent a Squadron to conquer *Peru*, one Ship of it got round the World, and took a glorious Prize; but that was owing to the Perseverance of the Commander; for out of five, only one could perform the Voyage. Were we to write in the Stile of the Antients, he perhaps was preserved by the Genius of *England*, to renew her antient Discipline, and gain those Victories at Sea that obtained a Peace. When after many unsuccessful Battles at Land, *Bergen* and *Maestritch* taken,
and

and no Place remaining able to prevent the entire Conquest of *Holland*, our Successes at Sea saved *Europe* from Chains, by forcing *France* to give up her Conquests. We said, that *England* did not get a Foot of Ground. — But what then, Did *England* get by that *Spanish* War, to which it was pushed by Clamour? *Why it got TWO WARS, that, and the French, which followed it*; for had not we engaged in the *Spanish* War, and thereby forced *Spain* into the Arms of *France*, the latter would not have ventured to attack the House of *Austria*, or to have made a dependant *Bavarian* Emperor. *Spain* would have been jealous of *France*, and would have assisted us and the House of *Austria*, had she not, by our Rashness, been forced to seek Defence from *France* against our Fleets.

We also got more by those two Wars; we got rid of a wise Statesman, and a prudent experienced Ministry. Besides getting rid of this pacifick Whig Ministry, *England* got a Number of PATRIOT ORATORS, and they got Places.

*Aut si non aliam venturi fata Neroni,
Invenire viam scelera ipsa Nefasque,
Hac Mercede placent—* LUC.

We got the spending of eighty Millions; the Nation got forty Millions in Debt; and Contractors, Stockjobbers, Jews and Brokers
got

got Plumbs ; Emperors Kings ; and Electors got Subsidies ; and at last *England* got a Peace.

These Things we did get, and most of them stick by us ; and we had like to have got the Pope, the Pretender, the Devil and all ; but these, thank Heaven, we did not get ; but no Thanks to the clamorous hot-headed Multitude, that drove wiser Heads into those Measures, which brought us to fight with inferior Numbers, *Pro Aris & Focis* ; every serious Man must shudder to think what Dangers Providence delivered us from ; how often his Majesty and the Royal Family were exposed, how often the Nation was on the Edge of Destruction, and rescued by a Scene of Wonders ! And, indeed it was all wonderful, that *England*, assisted by no Ally but whom she paid, could hold out a War ; yet are there Numbers, that want to embark us in a new War.

To be sure it is the Interest of the Disaffected, if there are any such, to engage us in a War ; they have no other Chance for their desperate Cause ; besides, out of Revenge for the Treatment the *French* gave to their Master, they would naturally do all the Mischief they can, and that is nothing but Growling, so doubt not the Disaffected will all growl for a War ; and yet in this, as in all other their Hopes, they will be disappointed ; for *France* will never assist them ; she has disobliged their Master too much ever to forgive or trust him.

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The Stock-jobbers, Usurers and Jews, certainly will cry out for the Honour of *England*, for they wish us grinning Honour, that the Interest of Money may rise; but they too may be disappointed; for if a War should grow too heavy, how shall Interest be paid, and the Principal they have in the present Funds will fall in Proportion to the rising of Interest; so they will lose more on the Principal of their tied-up Money, than they can get by the rise of Interest on their floating Cash.

Ladies will be glad of a War; their Lovers may get Commissions, and so they may get rid of old ones, and have new; they may be glad of higher Interest, but they will be mistaken; for they will lose by the selling of their Capital; suppose the Government should be by Clamour drove into a War, and should be obliged to borrow at above Three *per Cent*. whatever they borrow at above, so much lower must the Capital of the present Funds fall; thus, if a Lady has a Thousand Pounds in the Three *per Cents*, and the Government should borrow at Three one-half (which it is hoped they may not be forced to do) that Instant the Three *per Cents* fall proportionably, and she cannot sell out at a Price so as to put out her Money in the new Funds; instead of her one Thousand Pounds she may perhaps not be offered Nine Hundred Pounds for her Stock; but if the Government should be still harder pushed (which God forbid) and be forced

to borrow at Four *per Cent.* her Stock on one Thousand Pounds in the Three *per Cents* will be worth but Seven Hundred and Fifty Pounds; so she will have a worse Capital, and gain nothing by the rising of the Interest of Money.

The Officers must cry out for War, lest they should be believed Men that feared Action. Yet *Hannibal*, and, before him, *Phocian*, very pretty Fellows, as Capt. *Bluff* says, in those Days, when they found their Nation over-matched, advised Peace; but Capt. *Bluff* says, *Hannibal* would be nothing at all in our Days. As for the Sons of War and Glory, perhaps a War with *France* at this Juncture, single-handed, may not be for their Glory nor Advantage. By the present Scheme of the Orators there is to be no War on the Continent; that is to say, there is to be a War and no War. But this is the Orators War, as the last was the Merchants War, therefore the Orators can best tell how it is to be carried on; if then they know their own Child, which it is a wise Father that does, this War is not to be a Land War, and Soldiers are not Seamen; so Soldiers can have no Share in the War, unless they be amphibious Soldiers; your amphibious irrational Animals are Otters and Beavers; and your amphibious rational Animals are Marines; therefore no Land Soldier can wish for a War in this Circumstance, but who wishes to be a Marine; now no Dragoon wishes to be a Marine;

Marine ; therefore no Dragoon can wish for a War. This Syllogism is to shew my Logick.

As for Sailors and Mariners, they are in the right to talk for a War, that they may eat. Prizes are rare good Things. But why Parsons cry out for War, who are to pay more Taxes, and consequently eat worse, is worth discussing ; they who are Men of Peace, and as Protestants are not for superstitious Fasting, why should they cry for War ? It surely is not that People admire what they know least ; Is it that they do so because their Patrons do so ; and that the Way to Preferment is, *Jurare in Verbo Majestri* ? Or is it, that they love to read News and hear of bloody Battles ? Surely it is not the Interest of the Church, nor of the spiritual Members of it, to have War. War not only lessens their Income, by encreasing the Land-Tax and other Taxes, but lessens Surplice Fees, Dues of Weddings, Christenings, and Burials ; for the Thousands that fell in *Flanders* and the *West-Indies* saved their Burial Fees.

But seriously, Clergymen of all Denominations, whether Church or Dissenters, should stem these strange Clamours of the People for War. They have Learning, and from all History know, that rash Wars, undertaken against stronger Nations, have been the Ruin of the Freedom of States, as unavoidable defensive Wars have been their Honour and Preservation ; that the Clamours of the Peo-

ple should never be employed to spur on Princes; they are always apt enough for War, from the Hopes of Power and Glory. The Cry of the People should be for Peace, particularly if the Strength of the Enemy is vastly superior. The best of Books says, if a King comes with Twenty Thousand against one who has Ten Thousand, he sendeth to make Peace, whilst yet in the Way.

It is hurting a Prince or Ministry greatly to urge them by popular Clamour to War. A magnanimous Prince hearing such Clamours is unwilling to stem them, lest his Glory should suffer as sloathful, which Reproach a generous Prince abhors more than Death; and a wise Minister must give Way to the joint cry of the People and urged-on Courage of the Prince, tho' he knows the Danger, and would rather give the Advice of *Phæbus* to the daring Youth;

*Parce Puer stimulus
Sed major utite Lora.*

Orators have a Right by Prescription to clamour for War. So did *Demosthenes*. And the great *Cicero* helped to ruin his Country by such Behaviour; he encreased the popular Cry, when *Pompey* was in *Greece*, and husbanding with the utmost Care the Army committed to his Charge, for in that Army he knew the whole Safety of *Rome* lay; he, like *Fabius*, wisely declined fighting with
Cæsar,

Cæsar, but the general Cry was for Fighting ; *Pompey* despised Common Fame, and stood firm to his Judgment and the Welfare of *Rome* ; but when *Cicero* joined the popular Cry *Pompey* yielded, and marched to the fatal *Pharsalia*.

The Nobles, it is said, join the Cry : They can have no sinister Motive : But they are more tender of Honour, therefore are sensible of the least Touch. But *Plebeians* of humbler Minds should strive to temper their heroick Heat ; it is the *Plebeians* must give and pay most of the Taxes. *Plectuntur Achivi*, Wars makes great Armies, and many Provisions for the younger Branches of great Families ; and notwithstanding the Marriage Act, there are not quite Heiresses enough for all the younger Brothers of noble Families, some are left Food for Powder.

The Merchant, Manufacturer, Ship-builder, and infinite Numbers employed in fitting out Shipping, may cry for War. Great is the *Diana* of the *Ephefians*, say the Shrine-makers. Perhaps they would be less violent, would they but consider what a desperate Reckoning was paid for their short Harvest at the Beginning of the last War ; and how miserably Trade suffer'd in the End, for the quick Demand the first fitting out of great Fleets occasioned.

The News-writers certainly must be for War ; next to political Sedition and private Scandal, it is the best Mart for their Wares ;
but

but they will not be so much advantaged as they expect; for if more Papers are vended, new ones will be set up.

By its appearing to so many Bodies, such Multitudes of People, that a War is for their private Interest, they join in a common Cry, and a War becomes a popular Clamour; and yet almost every one will be hurt by the very Thing they cry out for; but they do not know, for want of giving themselves Time to consider.

In mixed Governments, where the Oligarchy or Rulers have the executive Power, but limited by the People in their general Meetings, it happens often, that the Rulers are for War, and privately stir up Clamours for that Purpose, because they have the Disposal of the Monies and Preferments which are increased by War. Thus the Roman Senate push'd the People to War, till they wasted the Strength of the *Plebeians*; so that they destroyed all Equality, bought the Lands which the Weight of the Services in War forced them to sell, and oppress'd them to the highest Degree; so that the Conquests of *Rome* increased the Misery of the *Plebeians* to such an Excess, that they tried the *Gracci* and *Marius*, and at last made themselves Slaves to *Cæsar*, that since they could not be free from the Senators, they might at least make their senatorial Tyrants equally Slaves with themselves.

In mixt Monarchies, the Crown often made use of the Ardor of the Brave, and the Necessities of the unquiet Part of the People, to raise a Clamour for War, which encreases the Power of the Crown. As all Taxes and Offices are in the Disposition of the executive Part of the Government, the Kings in the *Gothick* Constitutions cannot raise Taxes, but when raised, they increase his Power amongst other Things, by the Number of Officers in the Collection and Distribution in his Nomination; so that frequent Wars add so much Power to the Crown, as must in the End make it absolute. This *Henry VIIth* was so well acquainted with, that he pretended Wars with *France*, to make his Advantage of the good-natur'd Courage of the People of *England*; they granted Subsidies, he raised Troops, and then gave up the very disputed Points for Peace. But his End was obtained, the Nobility were made Dependant by expensive Preparations for Campaigns, and the People were tamed by Taxes, and his Power encreased by the Number of Tax-gatherers, and by the Sums saved, and not expended. This Policy of Wars, true or false, have been made use of in *France*, *Spain*, and all the *Gothick* or *Germanick* Kingdoms, to raise the Crown, and depress the People, till this Policy has drove Liberty out of most Parts of *Europe*. In *Turkey* a Clamour for War is not the Ensign of the State, but of the one Part of the Court or Ministry against the

the other. Thus Pare Mustifa, or Black Mustifa, got the Whenca or Law to join the Janissaries or Army, and the Levants or Naval-Soldiers all in one Cry for War, whereby he got the Command of the greatest Army, and thereby the most Wealth that a Grand Vizier could acquire. At first he was hated by the Musti and Captain Bashaws; but the Artifice was this, by which he gained his Point; at the first the Sultan disliked a War, and the Musti, or head of the Law, was utterly against it, so was the Fesadur, or Treasurer; but Mustifa engaged the Captain Bashaw, or Lord High Admiral, who was tied by Affinity to the Musti, to come into the Clamour for a War. He was made to believe it should be carried on by Sea only, and so debase the Vizier, and aggrandize his naval Power. The Musti came in for the Sake of Affinity, the War began. The Vizier turn'd it all by Land, attacked the *Germans*, and besieged *Vienna*; the Musti and the Captain Bashaw, highly nettled, turns the Cry against Pare Mustifa, who lost the Battle of *Vienna*, and then his Head.

Dionysius rais'd by his Artifice a Clamour for a War; and said, that the Senators were pacifick, and gave up the Honour of the City. The *Syracusans*, hurried into it, named him General against the *Carthaginians*; he soon made a Peace with them, and became Tyrant of *Syracuse*. *Agathocles* followed the same Steps, with the same Success.

It

It is surprising, that there ever should be a popular Cry for a War, when there is not a Man in *England* but must lose by it, except some few Officers, Paymasters, and Contractors, by Sea and Land.

The labouring People, who are the Numbers and Support of every Realm, are the first and most pinched by War; the strongest and ablest are pressed into the Sea, or persuaded into the Land Service; and the old Parents, Wives and young Children, dependant on their Labours, left a Charge to Parishes, and if not relieved must starve. The Seaman press'd, the Merchant Ship now lye loaded by the Walls, unless they by Favour can get a Protection; and the Power of granting such Favour augments the Power of the Crown, more than our Ancestors would have thought convenient when they disputed the Ship-money. All Ships cannot have Protections; for if all had, no Men would be left to be press'd, so great Numbers must lye by the Walls, whilst the Markets they were design'd for are supplied by neutral Nations; and thus the Channel of Trade is turn'd, and the Merchant hurt, whose Wares rot on Board, which should answer his Bill of Exchange, and enable him to pay his Tradesmen; the Tradesmen and Manufacturer are hurt, by the Merchants being disabled from buying and paying, and the whole Trade of the Kingdom grows dull and heavy.

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The Poorest suffer first, and by Continuance the Rich grow poor.

But the greatest Sufferers by War are the Country Gentlemen of Estates, and the Owners or Proprietors of the Stocks and Funds.

The Country Gentleman, besides paying an increas'd Land-tax from two to four Shillings in the Pound, must pay more for all foreign Commodities, for Tea, Sugar, Wine, Silks, Hollands, &c. rises proportionably to the Risk of Navigation, and *English* Commodities sell worse, for Corn, Cloth, &c. must be sold cheaper to the exporting Merchant, to enable him, in a foreign neutral Port, to sell at equal Prices with the neutral Ship that pays no Insurance; therefore the *English* Commodity must be sold so cheap, as to enable them to sell at an equal Price with the Foreigner, and this must fall on the prime Cost paid to the *English* Grower or Manufacturer. The Country Gentleman cannot get by preferring his Sons in the Army, it is great Lords, or Members of Parliament, may perhaps do so; he can scarce get an Ensign's Commission without buying; that is to say, he must give three or four hundred Pounds for an Ensign's Commission, which brings in about fifty Pounds a Year; and the Son must pay about fifteen or twenty Pounds for Regimentals, besides Equipage, and must live at an Expence far above his Pay; therefore he pays for the Liberty of keeping his Son in the Service. It is urged there is Advancement;
there

there is so, but all Advancements require higher Expences, proportionable to the Pay ; so that no Officer can lay up that lives handsomely, and Equipages and other Accidents forces most (tho' prudent Men) into Debt. A Son in the Army is more Expence to his Father, than if he kept him in his own House, and much more than if he bred him to the Law, Physick, Divinity, or Merchandize ; and yet the Benefit Tickets in those Professions are better, and the Way to them easier and less expensive. The Lord Chancellors, Archbishops, Doctors, and Merchants, as *Radcliffe, Sloane, Heathcote, Delmy, Crafsleen, &c.* left greater Estates than any General, except the Duke of *Marlborough*, ever did ; and he made not his by his Pay, so much as by his Wife's and his own Frugality ; and by having the Secret, turn'd his Money in the Funds ; for he must win who sees the Bottom of the Cards.

As the Country Gentleman and landed Men must lose by War, so must the Proprietors of the Funds and Stocks ; for the Money they have is tied down at 3 *per Cent.* and if they sell, they must do it at such a Discount, as to lose more upon the Principal, than they get by advancing upon a new Loan ; and should they sell out at Discount, and lend at a high Interest ; on a Peace they will be paid off or reduced. Suppose a Man should sell at 90, to lend on new Loans at

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4 *per*

4 *per Cent.* to the Government, as soon as a Peace comes he will be reduc'd to 3 *per Cent.* then the 110 *l.* which he sold out to lend 100, will bring in but 3 *per Cent.* so he will have lost 10 *per Cent.* by the Transaction.

It is said by some, that the Sinking Fund is engaged to be applied to pay the publick Debts now in being. If that should be punctually applied, and one Million yearly, or whatever it were, paid to the old Creditors, the Government might borrow easier of new Men; nay, the very Money paid off of the old Debt would be lent on the new. As soon as the Government borrows at 4 *per Cent.* the present Proprietors have lost the fourth Part of their Principal for every present Use. Are they to pay a Daughter's Fortune, or Bill of Exchange? Instead of selling 1000 *l.* in the 3 *per Cents* to do it, they must sell above 1300, if Stock is fallen to 75, which is the Proportion between 3 and 4 *per Cent.* But if the Father hath agreed to pay 1000 *l.* Fortune, and has only 1000 *l.* Stock in 3 *per Cents*, he can give but 750 *l.* which may perhaps break the Match.

Having mentioned only how far this Clamour for War may affect People in their private Interest (but that can have little Influence in this disinterested Patriot Age) therefore it is necessary I should shew how it will affect the Publick. If it were not for the publick Advantage, and the Honour of the Nation, not a Jew nor Broker would clamour for War.

War. If not moved by their tender Sense of the Glory of the Nation, What Contractor would cry *Down with the French*? It is to be sure a pure disinterested Patriot Spirit, that makes them wish to furnish the Publick for nothing. Therefore let us consider, if this Clamour is for the Good or Honour of the Nation, and if so, we ought to join in the Clamour; but if it is ruinous to the Nation, then surely we are not obliged to join in a destructive Cry.

France in the last War kept 450,000 Men by Land and Sea; 20,000 of which were at Sea, and those may be reckoned to cost three Times as much as Landmen; so that would make in the whole the Expence of 490,000 Men. *England* kept about 100,000 Men, of which about 45,000 at Sea, which esteemed as three to one, makes 190,000 Men; this indeed make them above double our Number.

The *Romans* looked on Superiority of Numbers with Respect, so as to make it proverbial, that *Hercules* was not a Match for two; but that is not conclusive to *Britain*, every London *Apprentice* is stronger than *Hercules*, and therefore every *Englishman* can beat three *Frenchmen*; so that's settled; *Britain* alone is above a Match for them, as to their Strength in Men.

With respect to Revenue, *France* in Peace raises about 300 Millions of Livres, which is not 15 Millions Sterling; in War she raises 18 or 19 Millions Sterling. *England* raises by the Malt Tax 750,000 *l.* and Land Tax in
Peace,

Peace, at 2 s. 1,000,000; in War at 4 s. makes 2 Millions; as for the other Taxes, they are appropriated either to the Civil List, or to pay the Interest of 80 Millions Debt, and the Surplus to sink the Capital of the Debt; the Surplus is called the *Sinking Fund*. Some think this *Sinking Fund* may in a War be applied to the yearly Charges of the War; but it is not probable the Parliament will alter the *Appropriation*; for it was on the Strength of that Appropriation, that the publick Creditors submitted to a Reduction, that thereby the Capital might be secure, tho' the Interest was lessened. Now as the 3 *per Cent.* and 3 one-half *per Cent.* are considerably under Par, I suppose the Sinking Fund will be inviolably applied to pay off the old Debts, and then the present Creditors will have the Benefit of lending their Money out at high Interest, if the Government should be forced to give a high Interest, which I hope they will not.

I say, if the Government give a higher Interest than 3 *per Cent.* they will certainly apply the Sinking Fund to pay the old Debt as appropriated; because it is Justice to the old Creditors, and *England* has always acted with Justice and Punctuality to their Creditors, which is what has maintain'd their Credit; and the Parliament will certainly not do any Thing to damp Credit, when there is most Use for it; therefore I am persuaded they will be punctual in applying the Sinking Fund to pay the present Debt.

I said,

I said, I thought the Government would not be forced, I hoped, to give above 3 *per Cent.* I think so, because all those zealous Patriots that clamour for War, I suppose, will lend at 3 *per Cent.* out of their Zeal; and this is the more necessary, because all above the Land and Malt must be borrowed, or new Taxes must be laid. Now new Taxes may either be on Things not taxed before, or by augmenting those already taxed. As for Things not taxed, few are to be found, unless such as oppress the Subject, and impoverish him so, that he will not be able to spend in some other Branch already taxed what he now doth; so it will stop some other Stream, as much as it augments this new Branch of Revenue.

With respect to augmenting the present Duties or Excises, that would hardly answer; for by Experience it is found, the higher Duties are, the less they bring in; several Experiments have been made, and by lowering Duties, the Revenue hath been augmented. The War must probably be carried on by borrowing as many Millions a Year as is wanted, and giving an Interest. Therefore it is most necessary to keep up Credit, that the Lenders may be willing to accept a low Interest; and nothing can contribute more *to heap up Credit, than to apply the Sinking Fund inviolably to paying off the Debt.*

There is the more Reason to cherish Credit, since one great Source of Borrowing is stopped,
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I mean Lotteries. *They used to be Resources that never fail'd*; but unfortunately the last was made (by taking 10 per Cent.) a little too disadvantageous, and it is probable new Lotteries will not fill.

With respect therefore to Money; we are to begin a War with 80 Millions Debt, and 2,750,000 *l.* Sterling for Expences of the Year, with a Power of going further into Debt, against a Nation that raises about 15 Millions Sterling for the Year, and who cannot go into Debt, or no Body will trust them.

In short, we have more Ships, they have more Horse and Foot; and as for Money, we have already spoke fully.

But antient *Pistol* says,

“ What is Money? Dust;

“ *Fit only to enthrall the mounting Soul,*

“ *And knock down Courage to black Erberus.*

What signifies the Money, if they have more Money we can beat them; we will go and take their Money, it will increase our Strength; so that is settled. It appears plainly by a War, we shall regain all the Virtues of Cato, we shall acquire Poverty, which is the Nurse and Mother of all Virtue; we shall augment our Courage and Skill in War by Practice; our Patience I doubt not will be exerted also; and as for Chastity, that Virtue will certainly abound; for the Increase of Taxes, and Decline of Trade, will lessen Luxury, and Sine cerere & Baccho frigit Venus. As we shall abound with all Virtues, we shall be secure to carry on the War single-handed at Sea successfully. There is but this Accident against us. If they find themselves weaker at Sea, they may perhaps
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be Poltroons enough to stay in their Ports, and we can't Sail up to Paris without some new Inventions; but sure such a Thing may be obtained from some of our Projections. The Broad-wheel Philosopher doubtless can do such a Trifle as carry a Fleet over Land. But if this should fail, and yet, if they will not come out of their Ports they can't hurt us. Perhaps they may join the Spaniards, and help them to attack Port Mahone, or Gibraltar; for a Fleet of Men of War, some say, cannot in calm Weather hinder Troops landing on Islands in the Mediterranean, which was, they pretend to say, proved in Sicily in 1718, when Lord Torrington was not able to hinder Succours getting to the Marquis de Ledes's Army. They may perhaps try another Way to hurt us, and march into Westphalia. Why, if they should do so, we have nothing to do but to subsidy all Germany, the King of Prussia amongst the rest, if we can get him; besides Russia, Sardinia, and even Turkey, must not be forgot, least the Sultan should give a Diversion to Russia or Hungary. We are a rich People, this will be but a Trifle, at the worst it will be but borrowing 80 Millions more at 5 per Cent; and after a Peace, reducing all Debts to $1\frac{1}{2}$, and then the same Fund that pays the Interest of 80 Millions at 3 per Cent. will pay that of 160 at $1\frac{1}{2}$.

All this is great; if therefore the French should not be content to carry on the War by Sea only, and should make it general through Europe, we must Subsidy; the Difficulty will be how to pay them; if we must send Specie from hence, the remitting those vast Sums must drain the Cash; and if the Money that cir-

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culates

culates, 80 Millions of Paper, is lessened beyond a certain Degree, it will risk a Stagnation.

The Antient *Pistol* has shewn we can have Paper enough, which, whilst it is current, is Money; therefore we must strive to keep it so, and not by sending out the Specie make a Stagnation.

The Subsidies to *Prussia* and *Russia*, and the Empress Queen, must be balanced by Cash, since the Balance of Trade to those Countries is already against us; and whatsoever greater Demand they shall have on us, must be paid by sending Gold or Silver, since they do not want more of our Merchandize than they already have; for if they did, there would not be a Balance against us. The Subsidy must be equal to the Number of Troops with which they act against *France*; for if the War should be begun on our Account, and not, for their own Cause, they will expect we should pay the Expence; and indeed there are none of them able to act against *France* at their own Expence. The King of *Prussia* can maintain his Troops in his own Country, and this with great Difficulty and Oeconomy; but it will cost double to act in the Field with the same Number of Troops, as it does to keep them in Time of Peace; therefore if he takes the Field with 100,000 Men, it cannot be reckoned less than a Million a Year. He was engaged last War on the *French* Side, but when he found
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it convenient he quitted them, and joined them again when he thought it for his Advantage. How can we then be certain of any Engagement from that Quarter. One is hardly sure of one's Bargain, where the Auction is still open to the best Bidder.

Another small Difficulty in all Engagements with him is, whether they may not disoblige the Court of *Vienna*; and if ever *Vienna* and *France* should agree, what then would be the Case; could we and *Prussia*, and all the Protestants in *Germany*, stem such a Tide. This is a Measure *Rome* hath long laboured, and proposed many Expedients to bring about.

If *Russia* acts with 30,000 Men, we know what the Charge of that, and the *Vienna* Subsidies were last War; we know that we were forced to raise 6,000,000 over and above Land and Malt, &c. and encrease the Debt more than that Sum in one Year: Suppose we should be oblig'd to go on at that Rate with a new War, How many Years can we hold it? And what Acquisitions in *America* can be equal to it? Could we not purchase *Quebec*, and all the *French* Northern Colonies for a less Sum? And is it probable, that we shall be able to keep them, if we should be successful?

Since I wrote the above, I find the last Question answered by the most magnanimous *Hurlotbrumbo*. He writ it, I suppose,

aware of the Objection at *White's*, viz. that a War at Sea with *France* could be no Bett; since we have a great deal to lose, and *France* nothing.

Now by the equitable Laws of Gaming, when Judgment is asked, if a Man cannot win he cannot lose, so it is no Bett. If we beat the French Fleet, ours cannot sail up to Paris; but if they beat ours Ware Cat; therefore it is plain it is no Bett. Now Hurlothrumbo, with great Sagacity, proves that the French do not throw a Levant, but that we may get as well as lose, therefore it is a Bett. To support this, the heroick Hurlothrumbo leads on our Armies to victory, more rapid than those of Cæsar in Pontus. He beats the French out of North America; then he shews how by his Victory in driving the French out of Canada, and the Continent of America, we shall get Millions enough to pay the national Debt. There are, says he, more Indians a hundred Times about Canada and Mississippi, than about Hudson's Bay. But the Company gets 20 Pound a Year by every Indian that trades with them. Now with great Moderation he only supposes the new acquired Indians will be worth but half as much, 10 Pound yearly each; so you need only take the Profit of the Hudson Bay Company, and Multiply by 50, and the Produce will be the Millions promised.

Quebeck, Cape-Briton, and all the French Places in North America, subdued, Canada being a cold Country, where the Lakes and Rivers, five Times as wide as the Thames, are frozen in one Night, and the Snows continue all the Winter Months without one Thaw. Hurlothrumbo, in Tenderneſs to his victorious Army, marches them from these frozen Climates,

mates, and like a Deluge pours them down Southwards, to the burning Sands of Florida. He wastes them over the Gulf Stream to Cuba, conquers that Island, and Hispaniola and Porto Rico.

These Conquests atchieved, the Advantages of the War appear; besides the Million arising from the Northern Indians, we shall not only have full Satisfaction for the Grievances from the Spaniards, but may oblige those proud Spaniards to pay us the Indulto they now allow to the King of Spain, for bringing home the Treasure.

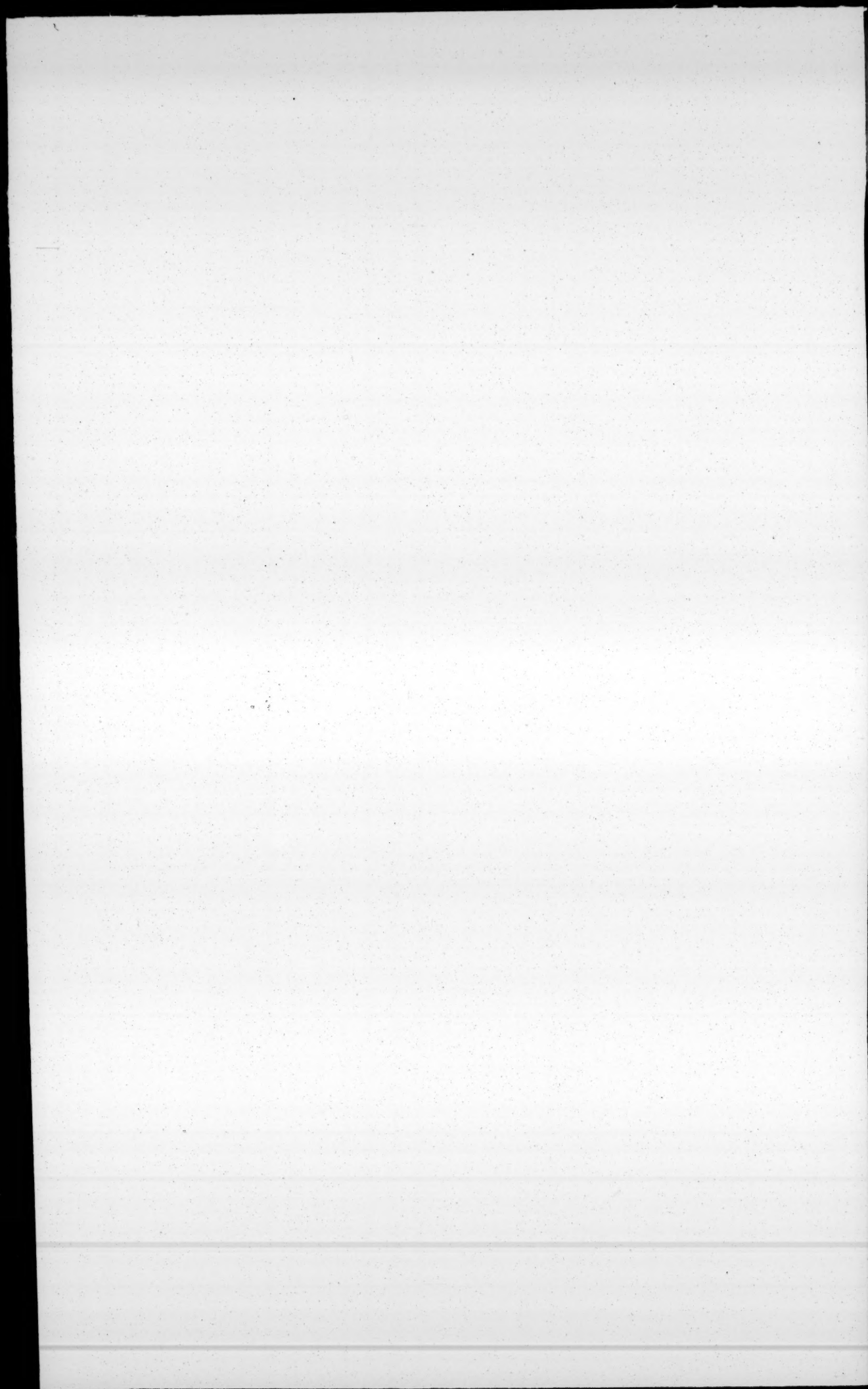
You see here, Reader, a Proof that supports the Clamour for a War; you see here what surprising Advantages will attend a War. Perhaps you may honour me with supposing, this flows from my luxuriant Fancy. But I would not be so unjust, as to rob the magnanimous *Hurlothrumbo* of his due Praise.—This Proposal is in sober Sadness printed in the *Publick Advertiser of Wednesday, July 30, 1755.*

It is to be hoped, that those who cry loudest for War, do it out of Zeal for his Majesty, the Protestant Succession, and the Publick Good; if so, let them shew it by paying the proper Respect to Majesty, waiting our Sovereign's Will; and when he has declared it, co-operating with it; and till then not joining in any Cry, merely to perplex those at the Helm.

A Ship was bound from Newfoundland for London, with a great Number of Passengers on board, most good Sailors, returning from fishing, coming by
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the Goodwins for the River, it was hazy Weather, and blew a Storm; the Passengers run up and make a prodigious Noise and Clamour, all out of a good Zeal and anxious Eagerness to save the Ship; the Noise was so great, as it almost stunned the Pilot. When up runs the Captain, D— your Zeal, Gentlemen,— Do you know what you do, by disturbing the Pilot in such Weather.—Such as he wants he will call for.— As for the rest, take my Chest of Liquors, go down, be drunk and be d—d; but don't muss the Pilot, when one false Stroke at the Helm may send us all to the Bottom.

POST.



P O S T S C R I P T.

Whilst I was writing this I find Insurance rises, and is already got to 20 *per Cent.* on homeward bound *West India* Ships. Three *per Cents* are fallen to near 92. Wheat is about six Pounds a Load, and Woollen Goods and all *English* Manufactures lay dead on Hand; all foreign Goods, and Materials for Manufactures rise. These are the Effects of the Rumour of War. Privateers are fitting out in all the Ports of *France* and *England*. If they are permitted to act Trade will lose its Channel, and the industrious Trader indeed may buy and pay, but the Privateer will be the Customer, purchase with Powder and Bullet, undersell him that pays in Money, and spend the Produce in Wine and Women. It is said the *Dutch* have abandoned the barrier Towns, which looks as if they would maintain a Neutrality, and Profit of Trading without Insurance.

F I N I S.

